One of Our Rare Workers

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(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TRIBUTE OF LOVE AND REVERENCE

When I issued the notice for a special number in memory of late Kishorlalbhai, I had some lurking fear in me whether it was not a very very short notice. As a matter of fact, it was a notice of at best 5 days only. But happily enough my fears have turned out to be groundless. I may literally say that tributes from all sides are pouring on me all these days. The tribute of love and reverence that Kishorlalbhai has won from the hearts of all is simply overwhelming. And it is coming forth from the tallest and the smallest of us. Right from the ailing Rashtrapati convalescing at Simla down to the common reader, all write to me to unburden themselves of the grief at the loss of, and to bear testimony to their love for one whom they came to regard as their own, whether they saw him in flesh and blood or no. It is this magic charm in the personality of Shri Kishorlalbhai to which Shri Rajaji bears witness in his beautiful words, 'a great fountain of *amrita*'.

I may add here my own personal tribute as the manager of these papers. As readers know, K. G. M. was doing his work from Wardha. A printer and publisher knows what mental worry it can be if the weekly copy is not in time. As the printer and publisher of Gandhiji's papers, who did his work from wherever he would be in India, this was surely no new experience for me. But my wonder and gratitude is that Shri K. G. M.'s copy was most regular to reach me. I may say, a practical and wise, loving worker that he was, he had made my worry his own, and never had I an occasion, during the course of the last four years of his editorship, to worry on this count. I have very many sweet memories of his brave and truthful editorship mellowed by a serene perception of the other man's view which he never forgot to see, wish to know and appreciate.

At the end, I only ask to be excused for not being able to include all matter that, as I said above, poured on me. I thank all who, even at short notice, responded to my request and sent their tributes in time for this issue. I thank God that I could organize this issue as a spontaneous tribute of love and reverence to K. G. M. who is no more with us in flesh and blood. May his soul be ever with us to cheer and guide us, as he used to do in life.

23-9-'52 JIVANJI D. DESAI

A PERSONAL SHOCK

Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala was associated with Mahatma Gandhi from almost the beginning of his work in India after his return from South Africa. He had by practical experience and actual work and close association acquired a deep insight into the teaching and philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. Subject to a most distressing form of asthma from his early days, it was a matter of wonder how he was able to put through so much work. It was his strength of will and devotion to duty which kept him harnessed to his work till the last moment of his life in spite of the serious handicap from which he was a life-long sufferer. After Mahatma Gandhiji's death, he was looked upon by many as a representative and repository of his philosophy and principles, and many turned to him for advice and guidance in moments of difficulty and trouble. He was always at the service of such ardent enquirers. The amount of work required for editing the *Harijan* was itself tremendous. He practically conducted it single-handed, and on top of that, the amount of private correspondence to which he had to attend both in connection with the Paper and for advice, was very large. If one wants an example of how weakness of the body can be conquered by the strength of will, one cannot find a better example than that of Shri Kishorlalbhai. This was of course the result of prolonged training to which he had subjected himself. The void created by his passing away will be difficult to fill. For one thing, there are not many who have had the good fortune and the privilege of that close association which he had with Gandhiji. But mere association has not in all cases produced the result which was so very visible in his case. He never hesitated to take upon himself physical burdens which a man in his health finds it necessary to avoid if possible. His study of philosophy had prepared him for a clear appreciation and understanding of Gandhiji's views. But he was not only an intellectual enthusiast but a practical person who practised in life what he appreciated and approved in thought. To me his departure at this moment has come as a personal shock on account of the very close and dear relationship which we had formed, and it is difficult for me to imagine at the moment how I shall feel when I visit Bajajwadi and miss him. I can only hope that the light that he was keeping burning through the columns of the *Harijan* will continue

to burn bright and inspire those who have always looked up to it for help and guidance.

Simla, 20-9-'52 RAJENDRA PRASAD

A GREAT LOSS

I should like to pay my tribute to Kishorlalbhai. He was one of the straightest and truest of our old comrades. Whether one agreed with him in any matter or not, it was a comfort to know that he was there, a sentinel watching events and giving his views without fear or favour. His passing away is indeed a great loss both personally and in the national sense.

New Delhi, 19-9-'52 JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

IN MEMORIAM

I look upon Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala as my Guru. He was friend, philosopher and guide. We first saw each other when we were both students in Wilson College in the first decade of this century. He was two years younger than me and was junior in college. Later I was a solicitors' articled clerk and so was he. Then we lost touch until I met him in the Vile Parle Satyagraha Camp in 1930. Our relations became very intimate in jail. I read his book *Jivan Shodhan* and had long discussions with him which gave me great mental satisfaction. This relation continued to the end. His clear and logical mind, fearless and impartial judgment, stoic indifference to pain, his equanimity and love of humanity convinced me that he had attained a very high degree of evolution. He wrote his last letter to me on the 12th August, 1952. Before I left Bombay on the 26th June, I went to Wardha on the 20th June 1952, and saw him. I feared that would be our last meeting but my affection and respect for him cannot be affected by his death. He had conquered the fear of death.

London, 19-9-'52 B. G. KHER

KISHORLALBHAI

Emaciated and frail as Shri Kishorlalbhai Mashruwala was — he weighed scarcely more than 70 pounds for these last so many years — it was a wonder to many how he managed to live. For over two decades, if not more, it was a perpetual struggle against disease that Kishorlalbhai had to wage. And it was a war on two fronts that he had to fight all the time — his own war and the nation's. Because, during all these long years, while battling for his very existence, Kishorlalbhai fought, as cheerfully and as valiantly as any of his comrades, in the fight first against foreign domination and, then, during the last five years or so against the poverty, both moral and material that prevailed in our midst after the attainment of independence.

This miracle, as it were, came about because of the spiritual strength that Kishorlalbhai had built up and was constantly adding to. Among poets, artists, scientists, statesmen, philosophers, instances will be found in history of individuals who not only rose superior to their environments but gained in spiritual stature the more intensively they struggled on the physical plane. One of those rare individuals was Kishorlalbhai, who by a systematic course of study and training, and by the exercise of self-discipline equipped himself to rise from strength to strength in the realm of the spirit. We often labour under the misapprehension, that a rationalistic outlook on life disqualifies one from achieving spiritual advancement. How misconceived such a belief could be is evident from the success attained by Kishorlalbhai, thorough-going rationalist that he was.

What distinguished Kishorlalbhai in his relationship with Gandhiji, from the rest of Gandhiji's co-workers or disciples, was this very same rationalistic approach that Kishorlalbhai adopted in relation to all matters of thought or action. If no iconoclast, Kishorlalbhai was indeed no hero-worshipper — he was not of those amongst us who merely inspired by our reverence for an individual seek to emulate his thought and action. The esteem and affection which Gandhiji had for Kishorlalbhai arose from Gandhiji's appreciation of the test of pure reasoning by which Kishorlalbhai judged all lines of thinking or practice — and a thin hedge divided the two — for which Gandhiji stood from time to time. In that sense, Kishorlalbhai, among Gandhiji's co-workers was one who least identified his personality with Gandhiji, although, as all India knows, he stood nearest to Gandhiji in spirit.

In a recent broadcast tribute to Kishorlalbhai, reference was made to his contribution to literature. Though Kishorlalbhai could have disowned any claim to being recognized among the *savants* who have enriched Gujarati literature, both in volume and range, but more so in quality and depth Kishorlalbhai can stand comparison with the most eminent figures in the recent literary history of Gujarat. That he never wrote for effect but still succeeded in exercising influence on thought is one of the merits which, to my mind, distinguishes him from the literateur who may often command a wide reading circle.

Rationalism, to Kishorlalbhai, seemed synonymous with the quest for truth which has inspired in the past and fortunately still continues to inspire ardent spirits. This search bred in Kishorlalbhai an intense feeling of humility, which was a characteristic that governed his conduct in the field of thought and action. It was this humility that made him tolerant and considerate. But it was not these qualities alone which endeared him to all those with whom he came in contact. It was the spirit of love and affection which he developed, in his pursuit of truth, — *ahimsa* in action in a sense. That reduced the distance between him who had attained spiritual heights and us of the commoner breed who now mourn his loss, personally and as a nation, as one of the wisest and most understanding leaders of thought of his times.

21-9-'52 VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA

BABU KAKA — OUR FRIEND

With his passing away Babu Kaka as Shri Kishorlal Ghanashyamlal Mashruwala was affectionately called, has thrown a numberless hearts into deep grief. Rich and eloquent tributes, spontaneously being paid to him, testify to the high place he occupied therein. Our country is painfully realizing that in his death it has lost a crystal-like journalist, sincere worker, erudite scholar, genuine Gandhite, genius of thought, serene philosopher, true seer as also the jewel of a man. More capable hands are there to draw upon these and other charming facets of the diamond that he was to show to the world how great and good he was. So I need not and will not dilate upon them. But there is one aspect of his life which has impressed me more than either or all of these viz., of his being the *Babu Kaka* of us– constructive workers. And it is in that connection that I pen these few lines as a mark of my reverence to the departed soul.

Bapuji was Bapu to one and all; but he had always to tackle such dreadful and pressing and greater problems of the country and the world as would frighten an ordinary worker who would, therefore, not dare draw upon Bapu's valuable time. Then there is Vinoba. Except of late when he has begun going round the country, not many workers knew him personally and even those who knew him were and are terrified by his profound and vast learning and stupendous austerity and hence could not freely go very near him. These two apart, Babu Kaka was the one person who, of no mean calibre himself, could be safely and easily approached and to whom every one would lay bare his heart. There are 'little incidents' in daily life on which we quarrel or nurse a grievance against one another. In our Ashrams and constructive work institutions we also suffer from this malady which has resulted not only in the absence of that oneness of heart among the workers which Bapu dreamt but also in the lack of a united and co-ordinated drive on their part in post-freedom India. Babu Kaka was the only man who was open alike to everyone, either on the top ranks or below, equally trusted by all and highly respected everywhere. Most of his valuable time was spent in correspondence connected with these little incidents. His voice commanded reverence and his judgment was happily taken as final. He tried to heal every wound and very often he healed it completely. As the proverb would have it, Gandhi and Vinoba might be the best tailors in the world or in the country, but for the constructive workers Babu Kaka was the best in the street. He talked to us as our brother, father or guide, or rather as our dearest friend of long and mature acquaintance, with whom one could not dare hide anything. And his decision was almost always correct, appealing and practical as also elevating both parties. None returned from him dejected or poorer or downhearted. Hundreds and thousands of constructive workers will bear with me when I say that but for Babu Kaka their life would have taken a different and perhaps unhappier turn. Also I have no doubt in my mind that his departure is a challenge to all constructive workers in general and those stationed at Wardha or Sevagram in particular. In fact, Constructive Work, as we who claim to be of the Sarvodaya proclaim it, is on trial. In the course of a long and touching letter, dated 26th May 1952, Babu Kaka wrote to me:

> "I believe that if constructive workers will not develop real non-violence, humility and patience as also fellow-feeling and friendliness amongst themselves, if every worker gets arrogant and vain and will go on countenancing the evil of carelessness or disregard about others and taking them as worthless or less learned than himself, the entire constructive work will be shattered into pieces."

It is a warning which we can ignore only at our peril. Babu Kaka is no more in our midst to settle our mutual quarrels and little differences. But if we are true to him or to the cause we must rise to the height of the occasion and behave as Babu Kaka wanted us all to be — Man and nothing but Man. May God give us the necessary character. AMEN!

Allahabad, 20-9-'52 SURESH RAMABHAI

HIS WAS A DEDICATED LIFE

Shri Mashruwala has gone from us to stay for ever in our hearts. I wondered reverentially how he worked on despite his chronic ill health. Continued ill health makes one ill-tempered. This is usual with ordinary men. But he was extraordinary, and he remained unruffled all the time although his task had always been a heavy one. I desired latterly that he should take rest, irrespective of what happened to the *Harijan*. I wanted him to come to me and stay at Sodepur so that I could take up a good deal of his editorial burden — using him only for consultation. But even that could not be arranged. Now God has taken him away while in harness, in spite of his desire not to die like that. God willed it otherwise and it was fitting that a philosopher-worker died while on duty.

His was a dedicated life. He was saved miraculously while he was a little child. He was sleeping in a room next to a wall which collapsed suddenly and fell on the cot he was sleeping on. He was taken for dead and under the debris. Nobody knew, however, how a servant of the house had taken him away a moment before. The servant himself was in a delerious fever and could not say how and why he took away the child to his bed in another room, just before the accident.

His parents read in this event the Master's hand and dedicated him to Lord Krishna — the household deity Ghanashyam and named him Ghanashyam-das. And Ghanashyam-das, known as our Mashruwala, has lived a life of dedication. He has left not only Gomtibehn but also a large family in us to cherish his memory as a source of solace and inspiration.

My *pranams* to him again and again.

Sodepur, 20-9-'52 SATISH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

A GREAT FOUNTAIN OF AMRIT

An angel has gone back to his place. Grief is Gomtibehn's and for the rest of us left behind. For him the peace that was his right has been awarded. How and why should we grudge it? Let us bear our grief in prayers and humility.

Tears alone befit the occasion, words fail to express even in part what feelings even do not fully express.

Gomtibehn knows how great Kishorlal's affection was for me, Lakshmi and Devadas. We have lost a great fountain of *amrit* in him.

I did not realize that it was fact and not an ugly dream when I read the news. I had to read it over again and look round so as to accept the fact as fact.

My love to all who grieve.

Madras, 10-9-'52 C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SHRI VINOBA'S TRIBUTE

"Although Kishorlalbhai had been suffering from asthma for the last 25 years, his ordeal during the last few days was most severe. During the past two or three years his trouble had become aggravated and he desired to be relieved of the responsibility of conducting *Harijan*. People were also thinking of giving him relief. It was God, however, who came to his rescue. I acknowledge the benevolence of the Almighty. I had been in correspondence with Kishorlalbhai recently. In a couple of letters he wrote last month he discussed such matters as a man's condition during his last moments and the definition of one who had realized God. That is how his mind had been working of late. Doctors advised him to take rest, but they said that there was no danger to life in the near future. It is however evident from his letters that Kishorlalbhai had thoroughly prepared himself for the inevitable. He was not taken unawares; he departed performing his duty to the last.

"It has been my good fortune to be in the company of good and righteous people. But I have never seen any other man who had to put up with such acute physical pain day after day. People grew anxious whenever his attacks of asthma came on, but he battled with the disease night and day, and when relief came he was all smiles. That was indeed a noble sight. He looked upon his body as separate from his self. As a public worker and editor he had many an occasion to criticize others, but he never failed to admit his own mistakes. I have nowhere else found a man so utterly free from ill-will or enmity (*nirvair*) as Kishorlalbhai. He was a free and frank thinker. When and if he ever differed from Bapu, he did not fail to say so. He gave frank expression to his feelings without fear or favour. But at heart he had pure and balanced affection for all.

"It is believed of men who have attained self-realization that when they transcend even the ideal state, they also enjoy full physical health. Bapu too had said this, and I also felt likewise. But Kishorlalbhai's example shows that there are some great souls who are able to regard the bodily frame as something....distinct from their true personality. It is not easy to describe a person as a completely self-realized man. Kishorlalbhai never claimed to be one. He was humility personified. But when I analyse my innermost feelings I cannot but confess that he answered to the description of one who has attained the state of self-realization (*atma-jnani purusha*).

"We have just recited the verse तस्मात् आत्मज्ञं हि अर्चयेत् भूतिकामः। He was a true example of the *atma-jnani* to whom the *Upanishads* call upon us to offer obeisance. God has now recalled him. I do not know whether there is anyone among us, followers of Bapu, who can keep the group together and look after them as he could. I however hope and pray that some portion of the love and kinship his heart was filled with may be vouchsafed to us.

"Damodar used to prepare and send summaries of my speeches to him at Wardha. I never looked into them and had authorized Kishorlalbhai to alter or improve upon any sentence as he pleased. I do not see to whom I can now turn with the same confidence in the domain of thought.

"It is good that God has taken him back. But what about us who survive him? We should emulate Kishorlalbhai's example and engage ourselves in the service of God.

"If there was anybody who had identified himself heart and soul with the *bhoodan-yajna* it was Kishorlalbhai. Although he was far away at Wardha, his very existence continued to lend strength to the movement. That strength is not lost to the cause. It has become a perennial part of it. He was physically so weak and ill, and yet he worked so hard. The *Gita* refers to *karma* in *akarma* (action in inaction). Kishorlalbhai was a living example of it. If Bapu exemplified *akarma* in *karma* (inaction in action), Kishorlalbhai illustrated just the opposite. True, he was not inactive; he spoke and wrote and discussed. But he could not stir about or organize movements. In this his body failed him. But even in this inactivity there was great achievement. In his ailing body was manifested the spirit of a great *yogi*. He never budged from his convictions. I sometimes wonder how it is possible to realize absolute fellow-feeling and sense of unity with the humblest of creatures. His presence then stands vividly before my mind's eye.

The passing of a great *sadhak* (spiritual aspirant), so deeply devoted to God, like Kishorlalbhai is a sacred occasion for us. After returning from Sarnath this morning I thought of Buddha the whole day; and now at night we have this news. We do not always perceive the greatness of men near us as we do of those far away. Kishorlalbhai was a soul of the same category as Buddha."

(From *The Hindustan Times*)

A BEAM IN DARKNESS

So, Kishorlalbhai has joined the galaxy of revered names which included Maganlal Gandhi, Jamnalalji, Mahadevbhai and finally Gandhiji himself. They all lived up to the ideal of the *karmayogi* envisaged in the Gita — performing their duty even with their last breath. It is a consummation which every Satyagrahi must aspire to, but which is given to very few indeed to realize. Those who had witnessed the agony of physical suffering which was Kishorlalbhai's lot of late, wondered at the will power and unconquerable spirit which enabled him to transcend his physical disability and gave him his serenity and equipoise which nothing could disturb. For a considerable time past his life had become a veritable bed of torture. But as the physical frame wore away more and more, the spirit within seemed to feel freer and freer and gave to the near-burnt-out candle's dying flicker the brilliance and sparkle, which obscured from many the sad reality behind it. In a letter to a friend written a few days before the end, he wrote :

> "I am almost at the end of my life and have been losing interest in worldly matters. Perhaps the way.... I still write strong articles might make the readers think that even if my energy is waning, my interests are as keen as ever. But I think that it is the life-long habit and my intellectualism that are responsible for this apparent contradiction. Inwardly, I am sick of all activities and want to retire."

One of the everlasting regrets of Kishorlalbhai was that he could not go into physical action on account of his ill health and serve the cause as a field worker. But he circumvented that disability by investing his thought with all the intensity of his being, so that his thought became almost like an act.

His writings became a synonym for vigour and clarity of thinking. But even more precious than the crystal clearness and incisive vigour of his thought was the charity and breadth of outlook which inspired it. I do not know of any of Gandhiji's associates, barring Vinoba Bhave, who has realized in his life the quality of *ahimsa* as Kishorlalbhai had done. It made him the cementing bond and unifying force in Gandhiji's wider family after Gandhiji's death. I am afraid, we shall all miss it more and more as time passes. We need to cultivate his catholicity of outlook, and charitableness, his equipoise and detachment, his humility and self-effacement and above all his unattached integrity more than ever.

Though many knew Kishorlalbhai, comparatively few, I am afraid, had had the privilege of knowing Gomtibehn, his brave and faithful helpmeet, who shared in full the penance and renunciation on which his life was forged. She is of the stuff of which heroines are made. Coming from a rich, cultured family, she did not find life easy when she first came to Sabarmati Ashram, to live with her husband under the canvas, where dogs claimed priority over the inmates as diners. But she persevered and refused to look back and Gandhiji made her, along with three or four other Ashram ladies, to write their experiences in Navajivan to serve as an example to other women. I have known of very few instances of such harmonious merging of husband and wife in a great common cause as was exemplified by Kishorlalbhai and Gomtibehn. It made their home an abode of purity, penance and peace. I have no doubt she will bear the loss that God has sent her with fortitude and faith. When the true history of India's non-violent freedom struggle comes to be written, the contribution made to it by the brave women such as Gomtibehn, Durgabehn (Shrimati Mahadev Desai), Kashibehn and others with Kasturba Gandhi at the head — whom Gandhiji had filled with the power of the basic Ashram disciplines, will be accorded a fitting place. None of them were "educated" in the sense in which the expression is generally understood these days, but it is my firm conviction that on our capacity to evolve that type of womanhood depends India's destiny and her future place in the world.

Kishorlalbhai's demise brings back to my mind the words of advice which Gandhiji uttered to the workers and members of the staff of Santiniketan after Gurudev's demise. No single individual, he said on that occasion, could take Gurudev's place — Gurudevs were born only once in an age — but if they all resolved to put the cause first and themselves last, they would to a very large extent be able collectively to fill the void created by Gurudev's passing away. Kishorlalbhai's life was a living example of the practice of that precept. May it serve as a beacon light to us all.

Valmiki Mandir, PYARELAL
New Delhi, 15-9-'52

THE GREAT TORCH-BEARER

It is some days Shri Kishorlalbhai left us to bear the loss of his sad demise. Kishorlalbhai's life was one great endeavour at search of Truth in its sublimest form. His great philosophic knowledge and wisdom were always at the service of the nation, through Bapu in his life-time and directly since Bapu's death. Bestowed with a clear vision he in his own simple and unassuming style held up the torch of Gandhian teaching and Gandhian way of life for us to follow. An unswerving votary of Truth, an outstanding representative of that fading community of Indian Rishis, and a great servant of the downtrodden humanity, he will be remembered by Indians for his humble but steadfast loyalty to a social order based on Truth and Non-violence.

Rajkot, 23-9-'52 U. N. DHEBAR

WHAT INDIA STANDS FOR

[During a recent meeting with an American friend, who is on a visit to India, I found him very critical of India's foreign policy. He dubbed it as "opportunist". In India, on the other hand, it has been assailed by a certain section on the ground of being "too idealistic". Both the criticisms are contrary to facts. There might have been mistakes and errors of judgment in the execution of our foreign policy but so far as the fundamentals of that policy are concerned no one can point a finger at it. By her uncompromising adherence to moral values in the sphere of international politics and by consistently throwing the weight of her influence on the side of world peace, India has set up a record of which we can all be proud. While speaking on India's foreign policy resolution at the recent session of the All India Congress Committee at Indore, Maulana Azad gave a very lucid exposition of our foreign policy which will repay a careful perusal. It is reproduced below with slight abridgment. — PYARELAL]

Referring to India's foreign policy, Maulana Azad said:

War was no solution of disputes between nations. Justice and peace were the yardsticks by which India judged every international issue. It was necessary that every country should explain its foreign policy, particularly when there was a fear of a world war. It was also important in view of the fact that India had attained a new status.

There was some misunderstanding in India and outside about the basis of their foreign policy. There were suggestions that she should follow a policy of narrow self-interest and align itself with either of the two Power blocs.

But when the peace of the world was threatened and humanity was on the brink of destruction, pursuing such a policy would be selfishness of the meanest type.

"Pursuing such a policy India would not have been able to maintain its prestige and respect in the world. Our foreign policy cannot rest on such foundations.

"Unfortunately the U. N. appeared to have become an arena of power politics between two blocs. If India had wanted to follow a policy based purely on self-interest and not on principles, she could have done so very easily. But such a policy would have meant deviation from her principles and the future would definitely have given its verdict against her."

The other alternative was to follow a policy based on strict neutrality. In the context of disagreement between the two Power blocs in the U.N., it would have been a cheap method of keeping out of the conflict. India would have had to seal her lips on vital problems.

"India did not accept this suggestion on the ground that it was repugnant to the moral stand taken by her.

"To remain neutral is to avoid responsibilities that have devolved on us as an independent nation and to shut our eyes to the realities of the situation. This would also mean that a country following such a policy is afraid of one or the other Power blocs."

India's foreign policy was not based on narrow, opportunist and selfish interest or on strict neutralism. The impression that prevailed in some foreign countries that India was neutral was inconsistent with facts.

"India is not neutral and cannot remain neutral. Our past history cannot permit us to follow such a policy devoid of any moral foundations."

The policy pursued by India was independent of any Power bloc but was not neutral. She had firmly refused to align herself with any of the two blocs. Her policy was to consider each question in the international sphere on its merits. She would continue to take an independent view and keep her mind and intellect free of any prejudices or fears.

The test laid down in considering each issue was whether it would strengthen the chances of peace or lead to war.

"That is the fundamental position. Whatever the consequences, India cannot forsake such a policy. The fact that it pleases or displeases any Power will not be and cannot be a consideration in deciding our attitude on any international issue.

"Truth and justice constituted the balance in which every issue in foreign affairs had been weighed by India and would continue to be weighed. If India thought that on a particular issue, justice was on a particular side, she declared so without hesitation."

Referring to the issue of China's recognition by the U.N. the Maulana Saheb proceeded:

India had pressed it because she thought it was the only course consistent with justice whether anybody liked it or not. The question was one of fact and on that basis there could be no dispute that the new Chinese Government deserved recognition.

India's stand on the recognition of China had not been liked by certain Powers. The U.N. had also not accepted it, though the question had been pending for three years.

The U.N. had committed a grave error in not recognizing New China. If China had been accorded recognition earlier, events would have taken a different shape.

India's appeals based on the Chinese warning against the crossing of the 38th Parallel in Korea had gone unheeded. When India made those appeals some people laughed at them. General MacArthur said his armies would be able to finish the campaign within three or four months. Events had proved that such assumptions were greatly mistaken.

"On the Japanese treaty issue also India has pursued an independent policy. When it was found that the treaty was not consistent with the principles laid down by us, we did not hesitate to make another treaty."

These instances should make it clear to foreign countries that India was not pursuing a

neutral policy, but an independent policy based on truth and justice.

"When issues are raised which affect the very existence of the human race, how can India remain aloof and follow a policy of neutrality?"

If India had secured respect and dignity in the international sphere during the last five years it was because of the policy pursued by her in refusing to be involved in any Power blocs or to remain neutral.

During his recent visit to Paris, the Maulana concluded, he was told by certain diplomats how they were unable to express freely and frankly their opinions on certain issues because such opinions might not be liked by certain Power blocs. They respected India because she voiced her feelings without fear or favour.

GOD HAS RELIEVED HIM

In Kishorlalbhai (K. G. Mashruwala) we have lost one of our best, truest and most humble-hearted comrades, whose rare qualities we shall all sorely miss.

Though we had known one another for 27 years, it was during the last two years that I had had the pleasure of being in close contact with him through regular correspondence.

In the last two or three months I had seen in his letters clear signs of the coming end, and for that reason had been writing to others saying we *must* relieve Kishorlalbhai of his burden. But we were not in time, and God has relieved him in His own way.

How much Kishorlalbhai was yearning for that relief can be seen from his letters. Referring to the death of his sister-in-law last July he wrote: —

> "I hope it will be my turn now to take leave."

And on the 9th of August last, he wrote in the plainest possible language:

> "I am almost at the end of my life, and have been losing interest in worldly matters. Perhaps the way in which I still write strong articles might make the readers think that even if my energy is waning, my interests are as keen as ever. But I think that it is the life-long habit and intellectualism that are responsible for this apparent contradiction. Inwardly I am sick of all activities and want to retire."

That we had Kishorlalbhai with us as long as we had is thanks to his utterly devoted and self-effacing wife Gomtibehn. How much the world owes to silent, unknown, devoted wives, no human computation will ever be able to show. But God notes down their every selfless act. Let us too try to realize the debt we owe to Gomtibehn, and pray God that He will bless her with fortitude and peace.

Pilkhi MIRABEHN

A TRUE "BRIDGE-BUILDER"

Readers know Shri Ralph R. Keithahn of Gandhi Gram, Ambathurai, S.I.R. On learning of the passing away of Shri Kishorlalbhai from our midst, he sends "a brief word about a very precious friend" and desires that it be shared with the readers of the *Harijan*. I gladly do it:

> "Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala has been a friend of friends to several of us for many years. He has rendered unique and outstanding service since the death of Bapuji in particular. There has been great need that we should come to understand one another and grow into a vital working team. Too many of us have been too critical of one another as well as of others. We have not trusted our own work enough. We have relied too greatly upon mere talk. It was Mashruwalaji who constantly helped us to see the good in various types of experiments and to appreciate the sincerity and devotion of others. He was a true "bridge-builder". We must not forget this aspect of the unique service he has rendered if our work is to grow strong and all of us are to be more closely knit together.
>
> "In these days when all too often we look to our own selfish needs or opportunities it is wise for us to remember that our "big brother" worked until the end with a very frail instrument. He was not strong. Almost everyday he had to face the handicap of not only a weak but a diseased body. And yet he carried on hour after hour with a selfless spirit — with marked dedication. It is such a spirit that all of us need — one of selflessness and one of complete consecration. We can render our tribute to this great companion of ours if we also will grow in a brotherly spirit towards one another and will render our service more selflessly."

All will agree that "in these days all too often we look to our own selfish needs or opportunities", that "too many of us have been too critical of one another as well as of others", and that all of us need to be more closely knit together, and "grow into a vital working team". In a sense, one may well say that this is no new message for us, that it is a truism. But, as is usual with such great truths, it needs to be repeated to the ever forgetful man. That this was the trick with which Bapu built up our people, we now see very clearly. And that was what Kishorlalbhai always strove to draw our attention to. Let us heed to that undying voice, in doing which we will be paying tribute both to the Father of the Nation as also to Kishorlalbhai.

18-9-'52 MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE'S TRIBUTE

The following resolution was passed at the Indore Session of the All India Congress Committee on September 13:

"The All India Congress Committee expresses its deep sense of grief at the demise of Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala who was one of the noblest sons of India. During all these difficult days he did not allow himself to be affected by the heat of the moment and kept burning the light of Gandhiji's message. The country is, indeed, poorer for the loss.

The All India Congress Committee conveys its heart-felt sympathies to the bereaved family."

HARIJAN

Sept. 27 1952

ONE OF OUR RARE WORKERS

(*By M. K. Gandhi*)

[On various occasions, specially during the years when Shri Kishorlalbhai worked as the President of the Gandhi Seva Sangh, Gandhiji spoke and wrote about him in the *Young India* and *Harijan*. The following is a collection from it.]

I

Kishorlal Mashruwala is one of our rare workers. He is indefatigable. He is conscientious to a fault. No detail escapes his vigilant eye. He is a philosopher and popular writer in Gujarati. He is as good a Marathi scholar as he is a Gujarati scholar. He is singularly free from race, caste, or provincial pride, or prejudice. He is an independent thinker. He is no politician. He is a born reformer. He is a student of all religions. There is no trace of bigotry in him. He avoids responsibility and publicity. And yet there is no man who having undertaken responsibility would discharge it with greater thoroughness than he. It was with great difficulty that I succeeded in persuading him to become President of the Gandhi Seva Sangh. His industry and single-minded devotion brought the Sangh the importance and usefulness it has shown. In utter disregard of his health (I count this no merit but a demerit in a public worker), he made himself available to all seekers at all times. No wonder he became indispensable to the Sangh. With infinite care he produced a constitution for the Sangh which can be used as a model by any such organization.

I mention these details not to glorify Kishorlal. He needs no glorifying. I mention them for my own satisfaction and.......

(From *Harijan*, March 2, 1940 — From the article "The Right Step").

Most Thoughtful and Silent Worker

In another place will be found a substance of the observations made in the columns of *Navajivan* by Sjt. Kishorlal Mashruwala. He is a worker of long standing and was up to recently Registrar of the Gujarat Vidyapith, and it was only due to illness that he was obliged to relinquish the post. He is one of the most thoughtful among the silent workers we have in India. He weighs every word he writes or utters. I mention these qualifications of his; for I am anxious that his reflections should not be dismissed out of consideration as so many writings nowadays have to be.

(From *Young India*, May 26, 1927).

II

K. G. M. and Parliamentary Programme

The President, (of the Gandhi Seva Sangh), Sjt. Kishorlal Mashruwala, could not possibly reconcile himself to the resolution, passed evidently at Gandhiji's instance and after the lead given by his speech, to the effect that the Sangh should permit such members as it thought fit to go to the legislatures. He passed sleepless nights over it, conferred with friends and came to the conclusion that he could not be at the head of a Sangh which, in his opinion, was about to launch on a risky moral adventure. It was all well to say that truth and non-violence were our creed, but how could one strictly adhere to them when one had to engage in wordy duels every day, issue manifestoes and resolutions about the language of which one could never be sure? And had not the Sangh work enough that it should think of adding one more item, and a risky item, to its programme?

The Sangh members pleaded with him in vain. At last the matter came to Gandhiji. He too argued with him not with much success. But Nathji intervened and said if Gandhiji would ask him not to resign he might not do so.

"Well, then," said Gandhiji, "since there is still some room in your mind for doubt about your position, I must take the responsibility of asking you not to resign. I am clear that your position is wrong. But I should not have asked you if there was no doubt in your mind that your position was right. But since I see that there is the doubt I must give the word."

"I shall obey your word," said Kishorlalbhai, "but I confess I will carry on the work more or less like an automaton."

That finished the matter for the moment, but when at the meeting of the Sangh Gandhiji took the chair and proceeded to explain how he had been able to persuade Sjt. Kishorlal not to resign, Gandhiji broke down after he had announced the decision and could not proceed for a few seconds. So great was the value he attached to the strength of Kishorlalbhai's conviction, so deep was his love for an associate whose attachment to love and truth was a matter of pride to Gandhiji.

(From the "Weekly Letter", *Harijan*, May 8, 1937).

III

Kishorlal's Fears

Having explained to you how I have succeeded in persuading Kishorlal not to press his resignation, I shall now try to dispel his doubts and I want you to help me in doing so. His doubt and his fear are that the parliamentary programme always rouses passions and makes one forget himself and so one naturally forgets truth and non-violence. The only thing that separates us from the brute, with which we have much in common, is the capacity to distinguish between right and wrong. We often lose even that and reduce ourselves to the condition of the brute. I grant that the parliamentary programme is likely to rouse one's passions and exposes one to great temptations. But shall we shirk it just because of this reason? Should we not resist them? But Kishorlal says, "Having steered clear of these all these years why invite these troubles upon ourselves? We have enough work to do and we may not add to it."

He also objects that the Congress resolutions do not always express the truth. Now this is

unfair, for our resolutions express what is in our minds. For instance, the Congress resolution says that we want to end this constitution. Up to now we have been saying that we should not go near a thing we want to end. We have up to now insisted on the boycott of legislatures, schools, courts, etc., which we wanted to end. This doubt is not only in Kishorlal's mind but in many other minds. We are thinking of the language of the Congress manifesto in the drafting of which many like Pandit Jawaharlal, the Sardar and Rajendra Babu have had a share. The operative part of the A.I.C.C. resolution was drafted by me.

Now, have I infringed truth in drafting that part of the resolution, or have I written in a language which is inconsistent with the Congress manifesto? I can truthfully tell you that I see no untruth and no inconsistency. A Satyagrahi is sometimes bound to use language which is capable of two meanings, provided both the meanings are obvious and necessary and there is no intention to deceive anyone. The language of the Vedas and the Gita often yields several meanings. Tulsidas' Ramayan has verses which often yield several meanings. Neither the authors nor the interpreters and commentators were untruthful. The Congress resolution is undoubtedly framed to satisfy two groups. Office acceptance is not obligatory. One who thinks it inconsistent with the object of ending the Act will naturally not take office. If those who go to the legislatures are pledged to truth and non-violence, fearlessness and selflessness, and if they were to accept ministerships on our terms, we could win Swaraj and make the present constitution give place to our own. Jawaharlal does not think so. That is a difference that is fundamental between him and me. In the same way he believes in the inevitability of class-war and doubts the possibility of conversion of capitalists. No doubt capital is lifeless, but not capitalists who are amenable to conversion. And yet with these different beliefs we work together. Jawaharlal works with his colleagues in the faith that he will convert them to his view one day. And his colleagues expect by association to convert him.

But assuming that there has been no untruth so far, says Kishorlal, what if he discovers untruth or violence being practised in future by the members of the Sangh who are pledged to truth and non-violence? My reply to him is, 'You may then smash the Sangh and give it a decent burial.' 'Who am I to do so?' he asks. I say to him, 'You have every right to do so as the head of the Sangh; it may even be your duty to do so. The Sangh must not exist if its members propagate untruth or violence.'

(From *Harijan*, May 8, 1937).

IV

K. G. M.'s Credo

Kishorlalbhai, our President, who is more ill than I, has prepared a long and well thought out address. He has dealt at great length with our mutual misunderstandings, bickerings, our refusal to understand and bear with one another and so on, and asked whether our faith is anything worth, if it does not reflect itself more and more in our daily lives. Do we feel that we are marching further forward every day towards our goal? Do we feel that we are more non-violent today than we were when we met a year ago? Have there been fewer occasions when we gave way to irritation and anger? Such questions we have to ask ourselves again and again. For the way of non-violence and truth is sharp as the razor's edge.

(From *Harijan*, April 2, 1938).

Kishorlal Mashruwala has rightly dwelt at length on the principal implication of *ahimsa*, viz., that the *ahimsa* in us ought to soften and not to stiffen our opponents' attitude to us; it ought to melt him; it ought to strike a responsive chord in his heart. If the function of *himsa* is to devour all it comes across, the function of *ahimsa* is to rush into the mouth of *himsa*. In an atmosphere of *ahimsa* one has no scope to put his *ahimsa* to the test. It can be tested only in the face of *himsa*.

(From *Harijan*, May 13, 1939).

V

Exponent of Ahimsa

To write a treatise on the science of *ahimsa* is beyond my powers. I am not built for academic writings. Action is my domain. What I understand according to my lights, to be my duty and what comes my way I do. All my action is actuated by the spirit of service. Let any one who can systematize *ahimsa*, into a science do so — if indeed it lends itself to such treatment. In the event of my inability the correspondent has suggested three names in order of preference for this task: Shri Vinoba, Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala, Shri Kaka Kalelkar. The first named could do so, but I know he will not. Every hour of his is scheduled for his work and he would regard it as sacrilege to take a single moment therefrom for writing a *shastra*. I would agree with him. The world does not hunger for *shastras*. What it craves and will always crave is sincere action. He who can appease this hunger will not occupy his time in elaborating a *shastra*.

Shri Kishorlal has already written an independent treatise.* If his health permits I know he would like to write further. It may not be correct to call his work a *shastra*, but it may be said to be very near to one. In his present state of health, however, I do not think he can shoulder the burden and I would be the last person to lay it on him. Like Shri Vinoba he too does not allow a moment of his time to be wasted. Much of it is given to help solve the personal problems of a large circle of friends. The end of the day leaves him utterly exhausted.

(From *Harijan*, March 3, 1946).

* *Gandhi Vichar Dohan* (in Gujarati).

A GREAT APOSTLE

The passing away of Shri Mashruwala removes from our midst one of the greatest apostles of the Gandhian era.

He was a life-long invalid ridden with chronic ailments and weighed around seventyfive pounds all his life. Yet he filled innumerable roles in the India that was made by Gandhiji, and that which is still in the making.

He was among those nearest and dearest to Gandhiji, to be compared only with the late lamented Mahadev Desai, and his opinion was always held in the highest esteem by all in the country. His counsel was sought after by most constructive organizations and institutions in the country, and was regarded as next only to that of Gandhiji.

On many a grave issue his word weighed more with Gandhiji than that of most others, and if ever a difference arose between the two the Mahatma was unhappy. He would not rest, would even defer action, till they could see eye to eye.

He was acknowledged worthy, years ago, of presiding permanently over a countrywide organization — the Gandhi Seva Sangh in which most of the greatest of our country's leaders took pride to serve the country's cause under his guidance. His utter humility made him and his countrymen oblivious of his greatness.

A writer endowed with a rare balance and with a charity reminiscent of Gandhiji, he was one of the greatest exponents of the Gandhian way. He expounded the Master's message and teachings with incomparable zeal and devotion. He brought sunshine to thousands and a spirit of kinship to innumerable workers, seekers and correspondents. His books, (over a score, mostly in Gujarati) are to be found and are read reverentially in every Gujarati home, and his name is a household word. Many of his books are translated and are read all over the country.

After the passing away of Gandhiji, Shri Mashruwala filled the editorial chair of the *Harijan*. He revealed himself as the worthiest successor. His best and most intimate friends marvelled at the powers he disclosed, and the readers could not distinguish K. G. M. from M. K. G. writings. He wielded his pen with a candour and a humility that defied description.

During the last few weeks he could not spin for some time, a practice which he hardly ever missed for a day for nearly 35 years of his life. He could not wield the lightest wheel, still he continued to wield the pen for the *Harijan* till 45 minutes before death. He literally wore himself away — he died in harness.

That he lived so long was a marvel. That he could work, and what a monumental record ! — was nothing short of a miracle. Hundreds of homes and institutions all over the country are bereaved, thousands upon thousands of workers and seekers in the cause of truth, peace and freedom mourn his loss. May his memory continue to inspire us.

Kausani, 12-9-'52 SWAMI ANAND

[Swami Anand sent the following condolence message to Shrimati Gomtibehn :]

Blessed be mother who bore him. Blessed be you his life-long companion who ministered unto him to the end. We bow you while you bow to Divine Dispensation.

Kausani, 10-9-'52 SWAMI ANAND

TRIBUTE

The news of Kishorlalbhai's death gave me a severe shock but caused no great surprise. Despite his heavily handicapped physical frame, he continued to labour continuously from day to day till the very end. The end, however, came rather abruptly. We had been writing to each other at fairly frequent intervals. His last letter reached me just on the eve of his death.

While Gandhiji lived, Shri Mashruwala had become a great interpreter of his philosophy. His writings on a variety of subjects are familiar to the people of Gujarat. He was well known for a penetrating intellect and a great clarity of thought and expression in all that he said or wrote. We admired him for that ; but we venerated him for the high quality of the life he lived — simple, noble, full of human sympathy and utterly dedicated to the principles and ideals which he had accepted as a result of his long association with Gandhiji. There were many occasions which gave evidence of the great reservoir of moral and spiritual strength which he possessed.

Shri Mashruwala was one of the diminishing band of Gandhiji's co-workers, who filled in part the big vacuum which was created in the life of the country when he was snatched away from us. Shri Mashruwala has made a tremendous contribution as editor of the *Harijan*. It was a great burden of responsibility and I have witnessed the enormous pains he took to scrutinize and assess all the vast material which reached him before giving any of it a place or making his own comments in the columns of the *Harijan*.

I am thinking at the moment of the void which his death has created.

New Delhi, 20-9-'52 GULZARILAL NANDA

A LOVABLE PERSONALITY

Shri Kishorlalbhai was an able exponent of Gandhian way of life. God has taken him away from our midst when we needed his services most. Inscrutable are His ways. Although he was in failing health for many years past he never spared himself. I remember the occasions when he went to Bengal villages. His exposition of Gandhian way and his lovable personality endeared him to all the constructive workers. They all remember him to this day. It would have been impossible for him to achieve what he did but for the silent and ungrudging services of his devoted wife Gomtibehn. May his spirit bless us and may we show our reverence to the noble departed by following the footsteps of the Great Master Mahatma Gandhi in the services of the toiling millions !

Calcutta, 22-9-'52 PRAFULLA CHANDRA GHOSH

THE STILL SMALL VOICE

It required great courage to take up the task of the *Harijan* where Gandhiji left it. Yet Kishorlalbhai shouldered it bravely to the end. He sought in all humility and in the spirit of Gandhiji to guide his readers in the way of truth and non-violence. One will miss his writings greatly. They were always scholarly and fair, and appeared to come straight out of the heart. They expressed honesty of purpose, sincerity of thought, and earnest and careful study. His criticisms bore no malice. On the other hand, they were always offered with deep sympathy and understanding. It is unfortunate that at this time when there is so much partisan thinking, the still small voice which spoke through him above the din of controversy, so clearly and uncompromisingly and without fear or favour, is silenced.

What struck one above all else in Kishorlalbhai as a person was the dominance of his spirit over his frail body. He was skin and bone, bed-ridden most of the time and hard of breath owing to asthma, and yet there was always laughter in his eyes and a winsome smile on his lips. His body was worn and exhausted, but never his mind which was always fresh and as vivacious as that of a child. His spirit seemed to have triumphed over his body and held it in subjection. In this respect he was a great example and inspiration to many.

BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

INDIA'S POLITICAL CONSCIENCE

Kishorlalbhai has left us just when we needed his mature and mellow wisdom. There are many political parties in India, and each has its leaders and its exclusive claims to wisdom. But there is a wisdom which is non-partisan and yet which holds good for every party. Such was the wisdom of this frail, unassuming man — unbiased, penetrating, full of humanity and charity. It was for this reason that men of different views and warring politics betook themselves to Bajajwadi to seek his guidance and advice. He had become India's political conscience.

Kishorlalbhai has been rightly praised as a brilliant interpreter of Gandhiji's life and teachings. But, to my mind, he was much more: he was himself an original thinker. Truth and non-violence were to him living principles, the application of which to the ever-present and ever-changing problems of life was not a task of mere interpretation but of bold and fundamental thinking. His passing away thus creates a void that will never be filled. But the fact that thousands of selfless workers throughout the land will continue to draw inspiration from his dedicated life gives an assurance, in some measure, that his high mission will be carried on.

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

AN EVER VIGILANT LIGHTHOUSE

Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala bore long a painful ailment patiently till he slipped away from amongst us. In spite of his illness and heavy work he always greeted his visitors with a winning smile which made his guests feel comfortable in the presence of sickness.

In his passing away the country loses a beacon of Gandhian thought that was sending out, like an ever vigilant lighthouse, periodical rays of light and leading in the encircling gloom. He was a permanent feature of Wardha; its pilgrims will now miss the one dependable landmark for their guidance and consultation.

Our heart goes out to Shri Gomtibehn — his widow and other relatives in this irreparable loss.

Wardha, 20-9-'52 J. C. KUMARAPPA

MAHARSHI KISHORLALBHAI

Much has been said and much more shall still be said by way of well-deserved tributes to late Shri Kishorlalbhai, the *Maharshi* in the real sense of the term.

No words of eulogy, tribute or appreciation, however sonorous or fittingly appropriate, will certainly be ever enough to give the exact idea of the true love and tremendous respect that the millions in our country had, and still have, in their hearts for him. No words will ever truthfully re-echo or reflect the deep sorrow and the sense of some irreparable loss with which their hearts are filled on his passing away.

As a philosopher in general and as a student, interpreter, follower and preacher of Gandhian Philosophy in particular, *Maharshi* Kishorlalbhai had established for himself both a revered name and an unparallelled rank of repute.

A scholarly writer, the *Maharshi* was both unique and superb as a journalist of sterling quality. In journalism he distinguished himself in respects more than one. But what was unique or more or less exceptional about him was this that, as the Editor of *Harijan* papers, he was not influenced or guided away in his selections of the contributions by the names of the writers if, and because, they were considered amongst luminaries, prominent somebodies or eminent nobodies. His only criterion of selection was the worth of the contributions received for publication, not the writer.

When will the day dawn when this illustrious example set by the *Maharshi* will be followed here and abroad?

His श्रद्धा — faith — in Gandhiji and his teachings was ज्ञानमयी and विवेकपूर्ण — intelligent and rational, absolute but not blind. He dedicated himself to his Master's cause — the cause of Sarvodaya — with indefatigable vigour, and yet in absolute humility, with this song in his heart that the Father of the Nation lived, worked and died for: —

न त्वहं कामये राज्यं न स्वर्गं नापुनर्भवम् ।
कामये दुःखतप्तानां प्राणिनामार्तिनाशनम् ॥

May the Soul of *Maharshi* Kishorlalbhai rest in peace and may the Almighty give us the strength and courage to follow in his noble footsteps!

Bombay, 20-9-'52 VITHALDAS BODANI

A GREAT BLOW: A GREAT CHALLENGE

Kishorlalbhai's death came as a big shock and yet it was not unexpected. He had been ailing for many years. It was sheer will power which had enabled him to carry the burden that he did. When I saw him last in the first week of July I got the impression that he would not be with us for long. I met him for the first time in 1935 when I was visiting Wardha during my college vacation. I was given a room in the same compound in which Kishorlalbhai was staying. He had an attack of asthma during the night and his early morning cough sounded most distresssing. I did not step into his room thinking that he was too ill to be disturbed but, to my great surprise, I saw him go through a full day's routine. This was repeated from day to day, week to week, month to month, year to year, till the very end.

There was a tenacity of purpose and a determination which enabled him to overcome obstacles physical or otherwise. Looking at his frail body one could hardly imagine the storehouse of energy and the fire that were hidden in it. He was a man of deep learning and strong convictions. He combined with these a deep devotion. His loyalty to Bapu was unique. But he could stand up against him firm as a rock if he felt convinced that there was a real cause for disagreement. For, that was also what he had learnt from Bapu. Bapu encouraged people to think for themselves and helped them in their gropings and their growth.

The fighter in him was thrilled by Bapu's call to action. And in constructive work he found the secret of generating the power of non-violence and Satyagraha. He was one of the few people who really understood that true politics can only be raised on the solid foundation of constructive work and he lived up to his belief. He was a regular and conscientious spinner. His contributions to the conferences on basic education and meetings of the Charkha Sangh and the Village Industries Association etc. were of the highest order. After Gandhiji's death, like the rest of Gandhiji's associates, he felt forlorn but, like a true disciple that he was, he found consolation in continuing what Gandhiji had left unfinished. Many of us had felt the need of continuing the *Harijan* and yet for different reasons none was able to shoulder the responsibility. Kishorlalbhai came forward and took up the burden in spite of his failing health. His writings bore the hallmark of his own innate non-violence, nobility of character and universal friendliness and goodwill. Pettiness, egotism or malice were foreign to his nature. An unworthy sentiment or thought could not flow from his pen. His loftiness of outlook was only matched by his penetrating intellect and balanced judgment. He made *Harijan* into a rallying standard for Gandhian thought and a power and influence in the country far beyond its actual circulation.

For over a year now he had been asking his friends to relieve him of the responsibility of running the *Harijan* weeklies. A few days before his death he wrote to Shri Pyarelalji that he had decided to go into complete retirement and rest for one year: at the end of that period, he would decide what to do next. But God had ordained eternal rest and relief for him, sooner than he had expected or anybody suspected.

With Kishorlalbhai has dropped away another gem from Bapu's inner circle. For those who belong to Bapu's family, the bleakness of life increases with the passing away of each stalwart. And so does the challenge that faces us and Bapu's India.

Delhi, 22-9-'52 SUSHILA NAYAR

IN AFFECTIONATE REMEMBRANCE

The hand of death has once again dealt a cruel blow to us in the taking from our midst a dear and valued comrade.

Ever since I came into close touch with Bapu, I had the privilege and pleasure of knowing Kisholalbhai. It would be difficult to come across a more humble and more devoted follower of Bapu's ideals than him. Since humility, Bapu taught us, was the first step towards finding the path of non-violence, Kishorlalbhai had certainly made this virtue a boon companion. He was a voracious reader, a keen student, a thinker, with intelligence and understanding far above the average. He was frail in body but strong of mind and heart. Ill health had been his lot ever since I can remember him and yet I never once heard him complain even when his suffering was acute, as it often need to be.

Having imbibed Bapu's teachings and his way of life, no one followed it with more meticulous loyalty than Kishorlalbhai. He was by nature ascetic in temperament and he never relaxed austerity even though, in the opinion of some of us, he needed more comfort for his frail body.

It used to be one of my unfailing joys to hear from Bapu of how he drew people to himself and it was wonderful how he remembered his first contacts with those who later became his devoted followers. Of Kishorlalbhai he once said to me "Kishorlal is a rare being. To be staunch and utterly loyal to his beliefs is a virtue which is inborn in him". I know how greatly he valued his opinion and any questioning that came from Kishorlalbhai received from Bapu the consideration that was this disciple's due. But Kishorlal was never one unduly to take Bapu's time. He realized how selfish most people were in this regard and spared him as few of us did.

To edit *Harijan* after its Founder Editor had been called to leave this earth was an immense task. I doubt if anyone else could have carried this burden as efficiently and as unostentatiously as Mashruwala did. He had a facile pen but editing means, as we all knew, endless vigilance and hard work. For Kishorlalbhai it meant the exercise of enormous will power in order to over-

come or, as one may put it, forget his physical infirmity. Further it was no easy task to keep burning the torch of Bapu's teaching and fearlessly to criticize his colleagues in whose hands were the reins of governance. But then he was a man of iron will and determination as also of boundless courage.

A true disciple of Bapu and a good soldier of non-violence has been taken from our midst. We are much the poorer for his passing, as indeed is the world, for men like Kishorlal are not born every day. It is well with him as it must be with all who have lived truly. But it is human on our part to miss him and to mourn his loss. One by one those of our generation who had the rare privilege of being in Bapu's inner circle are passing into the Great Beyond. May it be given to each one of us to be as true to Bapu as Kishorlalbhai was. He has left a fragrant memory and a lovely example and he will live in our hearts for all time. May his soul rest in peace! And may God grant His special comfort to Gomtibehn — that silent and loving companion and helpmeet of Kishorlalbhai — to whom our hearts go out in sincere sympathy.

20-9-'52 AMRIT KAUR

THE HOLLOWS SHALL BE FILLED

The one thought that filled late Shri Mashruwala's entire being during the last few months of his earthly existence was to contribute his utmost in creating, throughout the country, the atmosphere and the will among the 'haves' to respond willingly and generously to Vinobaji's appeal to part with a fifth of their lands in favour of the 'have-nots'. Next to Vinobaji himself, none in the country advocated the cause of Bhoodan with greater earnestness than did Shri Mashruwala. His writings in the *Harijan* journals week after week, his vast day-to-day correspondence — almost to the last hour of his life, all bear ample testimony to this.

The prophet of old spoke of the 'mountains to be levelled' and of the 'hollows to be filled'. In our own time and clime the former was accomplished by the Iron Man of India and the process is being further completed by his successors through legal and other measures.

But the task of 'filling the hollows' had been destined for the lean Apostle in loin-cloth who is walking the earth of India today, and in whom the millions witness the Father of the Nation resurrected. His way, unlike the temporal, is the way of Love and he has been walking the villages, even as did Tathagata Buddha — 'the wisest and the greatest man of the East', twenty five centuries ago. Delivering his message of love and goodwill, he is calling upon the 'haves' to restore to the 'fifth brother' his birthright, by way of a voluntary offering, so that 'the hollows may be filled' and there be no 'weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth'.

Vinobaji calls upon the 'haves' to realize the ignominy of claiming or clinging to rights and privileges that belong to a dead age. The only living right, according to him, is the right to work, to labour and sweat, for the conquest of every day. This is the Law. And none but the aged, the ailing or the babe shall violate it, save on peril of stagnation, decay and death.

It was for the country-wide propagation and triumph of this message of Vinobaji that the late Shri Mashruwala expended the last ounce of his energy.

One of the last contributions of his gifted pen has been his vision of future India contained in his reply to a member of the Planning Commission who approached him to be enlightened on the subject of a new orientation of our country's land policy, which may reinstate her 'have-nots' on well-laid and secure foundations, in respect of the lands on which they toil away their lives. This classical document may be regarded as something like Shri Mashruwala's last will and testament, calling upon the framers of India's future to 'fill the hollows' wisely and expeditiously.

Thus, Shri Mashruwala championed the cause of the 'have-nots' to the end of his life. He was the greatest bulwark of the Bhoodan Movement. He has left no heir, save his nation. It is upto everyone who loved him to exert himself, to his or her utmost for the speedy triumph of Shri Vinobaji's Bhoodan-Yajna. There can be no greater homage or memorial to Shri Mashruwala's memory than this.

SWAMI ANAND

AN APPRECIATION

Last year I spent about 3 hours at Sevagram with Shri K. G. Mashruwala whom I had been longing to see for years. I found in him a man of unbounded kindness and courtesy, possessing a wide and intimate knowledge of men and things. I believe he was one of the last of the group of Gandhiji's true disciples who could write, speak and act with the same force and sincerity as the Mahatma did. About a month ago the Reading Room Committee of my School had recommended, as a measure of economy, that we should stop subscribing for the *Harijan*. I said, "Not till K. G. Mashruwala is the editor". And now I feel one of the best memorials to the loving memory of its Founder and Shri Mashruwala would be to make the *Harijan* one of the vital instruments for spreading Gandhiji's Message of Love, Truth and Non-violence.

M. C. BENSON

A BRAVE SOUL

Being out on tour I can pay my tribute to Kishorlalbhai in time only by sending brief telegram. Kishorlal Mashruwala held aloft Gandhiji's banner through the *Harijan* with ability and firmness. Even in Gandhiji's time he was often availed of by the former for stimulating full consideration of his own views. Kishorlalbhai was universally fitted for supplying this stimulus. Readers of the *Harijan* during last four years had ample evidence of this. He was a brave soul which fought bravely for the truth as he saw it on the spiritual plane while fighting exasperating malady of the body on the physical plane. His brave fight is a rare example to all of us.

Mariani, 24-9-'52 JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

A GREAT PILGRIM

One seldom comes across greater contrast between body and spirit. Frail, awkward and unattractive, his body housed fearless soul known for clear vision, unshakable firmness, rational approach and even temper. Not without reason that Gandhiji chose him President of Gandhi Seva Sangh. He was a great pilgrim who always walked in the light of his conscience.

Ranchi, 22-9-'52 R. R. DIWAKAR

CONDITIONS FOR ECONOMIC EQUALITY

(*By M. P. T. Acharya*)

I have read the aims and objects of the Arthik Samata Mandal. While I agree that inequality of incomes is one of the causes of conflict among members of society and therefore of its disintegration, so long as individual ownership and responsibility remains, there will be inequality of incomes. The very idea "incomes" implies some kind of money incomes and trade. If individual ownership remains or is wanted — whether in land or instruments — there must be and will be trade and inequality of incomes. Wide or narrow disparity of incomes will create the same problems and conflicts, for Nature is not alike with individuals or things to make their incomes equal. Individual responsibility and ownership produces or generates the idea that oneself is not justly rewarded while another gets more than his just reward. Of course, individuals want private ownership but then they must be told that there cannot be equality of incomes and justice ; and if they want equality of incomes, it can only be through the society or collectivity, where all put their knowledge and work for the benefit of the whole society and receive from it security of living from birth to death. Then individual incomes, trade and money will be abolished. That people do not want it, does not mean we should not tell it, but tell them what they want even if it is impossible of achievement on their terms. We would then be telling an untruth to please them. At least we would be giving them a wrong advice.

Of course, inequality of incomes will be abolished only in a decentralized society. But decentralized society does not mean there should be no co-ordination of economics on a country-wide scale on country-wide agreement. If there is no agreement, there would be conflict. Hence we should bring a country-wide agreement.

Inequality of income can be abolished only as in a family where all things are for the benefit of all — without any price, without any wages and without any money and any exchange. We should put the country on one family basis, the country as one family. All will be taken care of by the family from birth to death in return for the services and knowledge placed by them at the disposal of the society. If that is impossible, inequality of income will remain. Is it necessary to tell it from housetops ?

The Bolshevik way is to make the Bolshevik party the proprietor of all things and the patriarch of all society. That is parasitism of the Bolshevik party which can only be centralist. We want democracy at all places without any patriarch — all as common owners.

The Arthik Samata Mandal seems to have taken for granted that in the truthful and non-violent society there will be Government (from a Centre), law-making, elections to distant parliaments, army, police, prisons, magistrates and supreme courts responsible to a Centre. Trade, currency, wages and prices, and interest, rents, profits, taxes, — all as now here or as in Russia or China. If these exist, we will be encouraging parasitism, even with equality of income on a par with producers who have to maintain them. For an equalitarian society, we must abolish all unnecessary work, even unnecessary writing and record keeping. We must have goods economy — not money and market economy. Record keeping is necessary only for a thieves' society. When a man works, he must know he is working not only for others but for himself also. If his work is bad or evil for others it will be bad and evil for himself. He cannot get anything before others also get it. That is the only equality we can have without conflict. We want only technical work.

For this purpose, we cannot have divided ownership in which each has to purchase from others what is needed for production. All available things must be available for production without purchasing or hiring. Otherwise production will have to wait till the purchase can be made. All works today have to wait because there is no money (means) to purchase necessary ingredients.

Money is the most centralized and scarce thing, being kept restricted. All works can be started only when money can be got. Nobody will accept decentralized currency.

Those who talk of decentralism and money are blowing hot and cold in the same breath.

There can be no equitable exchange. Every exchange requires paying more than the cost price — so that to pay one more than it cost him, one must get more from another and he must also get more than that from someone else. Thus a whole chain of parasitism is established. That is done through exchange. If I receive only my cost price, I cannot purchase anything and cannot eat or purchase anything more than what I produce.

With the economic set-up or paraphernalia we know, there can be no equality of incomes nor truthful or non-violent society. Unless we tell the people plainly what is the truth, we cannot set up a non-violent society. We cannot organize them with the present set-up.

It is no use to appeal to Government whose interests are opposed to non-violent non-exploitative society. It is the people who will have to take possession of all things by Satyagraha and run it themselves.

Many more things can be said about the problem, but these are essential.

PROHIBITION IN MADHYA PRADESH

Readers know that the Madhya Pradesh Government had instituted a committee of inquiry to go into the whole question of the State policy of prohibition, and its administration and results. Unlike the Bombay State Prohibition inquiry (the report of which is out now) which was aimed at going into the question of administration and how to make it better serve the purpose of prohibition, the M. P. inquiry was to be a 'fact-finding committee' "to inquire into the various aspects of the policy of prohibition and to make recommendations regarding them". The terms of reference were so wide as to include even the scuttling of prohibition, "which clearly indicated that it (the M. P. Govt.) wanted recommendations which would enable it to facilitate drinking" (*Harijan* — 12-7-'52, p. 164). The Committee's report is out now and the M. P. Legislature had free discussion on it the other day, and the Government is considering it with a view to revising its policy of prohibition, if it is so needed.

The report is not unanimous. Of the five members, including the Chairman, four sign it and the fifth member, Shri Kodanda Rao submits his "Separate Report" which almost wholly differs from the Majority Report in its findings on most of the material points of reference; but however, queerly enough, both the reports agree to scrap the basic policy of prohibition enjoined on the State by the Constitution of India, in favour of what they style as "the system of Individual Rationing". On going through the Report I was reminded of the Civil Disobedience Committee of the Congress of 1922-23, which almost sabotaged the very aim of its appointment. However, to be just, I must note that Shri Kodanda Rao, in his Separate Report* (shortly written S. R. hereafter) has very ably and successfully argued some points against the Majority Report, for which he deserves congratulations. He categorically locates the difficulty of the experiment of prohibition in M. P. in the following words:

> "The conclusion seems irresistible that enforcement of the law was feeble, discriminatory and demoralizing, that Government did much to discredit the law and that, if there was a considerable reduction in the consumption of liquor in the dry areas,* it was not primarily due to the enforcement of the laws by Government and the administration, but to the general law-abiding character of the people and to the economic factors, already discussed." (S. R. p. 46– para 28) "Public support was strongly and consistently in favour of prohibition in M. P." (S. R. p. 54– para 30). But it was almost nullified by "the disappointing experience of its operation."

From this one may naturally expect that the recommendations of the Committee should rather emphasize that this appalling state of administration must be set right in the interests of prohibition and offending persons pulled up and brought to book. But unfortunately the Committee does not do so. The reason seems to be that the Majority Report does not believe in prohibition and it thinks the step is against human nature and is based on the "mis-conception of the social and religious traditions" of our country since ancient times. The Separate Report is not so bold to say so nor so learned to go into such questions of ancient history and culture of our people. It appears to believe in the need of prohibition, but it takes note of the difficulties before it and says —

> "The........alternative is to extend prohibition to the whole State and abolish excise. It will be in consonance with the policy of the Prohibition Act, of the mandate of the Congress and the country, and above all the Directive Principle of the Indian Constitution,........Nevertheless we do not recommend its extension to the whole State." (Why? Because it finds that,) "The present Government and the administrative high command do not seem to be keen on it........What little zeal they may have was inhibited by the directive of the Government of India........the administrative high command....... never believed in prohibition and have had a cordial contempt for it........It is administratively impossible to replace the official high command with another set of officials vowed to prohibition. If the best is not good enough, and if salt hath lost its flavour, what next?" (S. P., p. 70, para 4).

This, in a nutshell, is where prohibition stands in M. P. The Government of that State has to decide its next step under these conditions. The main questions that arise for it may be shorty put down below:

1. Can or should the State go back on its policy of prohibition? Is it not bound by the Directive Principle of the Constitution of India which categorically says that "the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition....?"

2. Can temperance, or 'individual rationing' which is another name for it, replace prohibition, according to the Constitution?

3. What to do about the "administrative high command" which may with impunity kill Government policies?

4. Will temperance mend matters any way? Can it fulfil the aims and intentions of the Constitution? Has it not been a failure all along from that point of view?

5. Can liquor be a matter of rationing like food and raiment? Can the State provide for it, when it is enjoined "to bring about the *prohibition* of the consumption, except for medicinal purposes, of intoxicating drinks?"

These are some of the main questions that face the Government and the people of M. P. The answers to them are clear. The State cannot go back upon its own policy of prohibition and traduce itself as also the Constitution of India. Whatever it may decide must be in no way against or in lieu of prohibition, which only can be State policy in India, but it must be a step, however small, in that direction. To that end it must continue the dry area with stiffened enforcement, put the wet area under prohibition by having a permit system based on medical grounds, and

* The reader may note that there are two areas in M. P., a dry and a wet one. The dry area is 39,643 sq. miles and comprises 1/3 of the State with a population representing about 48 per cent of the total.

continue to have industrial areas like Katni etc. under full prohibition. The erring officials should be severely dealt with. Shri Kishorlalbhai's suggestion (vide his article 'Drink and Prohibition' *Harijan*, 12-7-'52) that officers who cannot do without drink should be removed from Government or semi-Government institutions, was probably born of such experience about erring officers. It is worth while for the Government of the M. P. to make such a discipline necessary among its officers who might be called upon to discharge duties under the Prohibition Act. A suitable pledge might be devised, which every officer should take. It will help raise their morale in the eyes of the public which wants to see prohibition succeed. Can their Government fail them? It is hoped the legislature in M. P. will see that prohibition is not allowed to be scrapped by the dubious and dangerous device of 'liquor rationing' which is the same old drink policy with another name.

12-9-'52 MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

GREAT EXPONENT OF A DECENTRALIZED SYSTEM

What attracted me most in the late Kishorlalbhai was his great humility and his impartial love for all who came in contact with him. He had the rare gift of being completely free from a sense of self (अहंकार) and, therefore, he never developed any prejudices. His genial smile and friendly advice were there for all who went to him.

2. It was the same quality of his mind which helped him to carry on unceasingly his physical and mental efforts, in spite of the handicaps of a poor health, and made him accept with perfect equanimity the mistakes he had committed. I particularly recall how he confessed in the *Harijan* after Gandhiji's release that he realized that he had erred in advising that removal of rails in the 1942 movement could be non-violent action.

3. To the very last he was espousing the political and economic implications of a decentralized system. His last letter dated 2nd September, 1952 was on this very subject. He strongly objected to the conception of a Welfare State in which the Government does everything for the people. He pointed out in his own powerful style 'it is much better to live as we have lived from the birth of humanity till now in some sort of a struggle for existence than be just comfortable well-kept animals by a small powerful group of our own species'. How true and yet with what compelling speed we are going fast towards such a pass!

The fact is that we are in a hurry and we lack the faith and confidence that a decentralized approach, which is bound to lead to slow material development, will be ultimately in the best interests of the country.

In his departure the Nation has suffered a great loss, as his unbiased opinion of men and matters was a pointer in a right direction.

22-9-'52 R. K. PATIL

GANDHI AND MARX
By K. G. Mashruwala
With an Introduction by Shri Vinoba
Pages viii+112 Price Re. 1/8 Postage etc. As. 5

MIRACLE OF SOUL-FORCE

The news of the sudden death of Pujya Kishorlal Mashruwala came as a great shock to all of us. I had the privilege of being in close contact with him ever since 1936 when I came to Wardha to participate in the work of the Gandhian institutions. I always regarded him as a miracle of soul-force. Though very weak and frail in body with continuous attacks of asthma, he possessed an indomitable will and determination which defied all physical limitations. Shri Kishorlalbhai kept his inner light always pure and steady in spite of many storms that passed over the country in general and the Wardha institutions in particular. He never allowed himself to be swayed away by passing gushes of emotions. He possessed a very critical but balanced sense of judgment over various problems facing the country. He always kept an open mind and did not believe in crystalized thought. Although he was one of the closest associates of Gandhiji, he had the rare courage to differ even with Bapu on certain issues. He was, thus, an institution by himself.

We have not only lost a distinguished and brilliant interpreter of Gandhian thought but also a noble father, friend and philosopher. Although he is no longer in our midst, his life, work and writings would continue to shed light on our path amid encircling gloom.

Wardha, 22-9-'52 S. N. AGARWAL

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